LES TOPOLCHUK

UNDER A FALSE MANDATE

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UKRAINA SOCIETY
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From this booklet, the reader will learn the story of the false "mandate from the country (i.e., from the Ukraine)" which was fabricated abroad by the leaders of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. He will further acquaint himself with documents shedding light on the work of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) which functions for the benefit of foreign intelligence services. He will also learn about its role in gathering espionage data aimed against the USSR.

The author pays considerable attention to exposing the treacherous techniques of the rulers of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist organizations currently in the employ of world reaction.

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And So They Made a "Mandate"...

The debacle of Nazi Germany in the Second World War made a rather painful impact on the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist counterrevolutionaries who had been completely dependent on the *Abwehr* (Nazi secret service). In 1959, the *Ukrainsky Robitnyk* (Ukrainian Worker) newspaper correctly noted that the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists "have proven absolute failures in the light of history, the present time and the interests of their own people... The younger part of the existing refugee 'leadership' (i.e., the OUNites — **L.T.**) infamously lost its backing from Hitler's fascism in the Second World War and has found itself on those same garbage heaps on which had once prospered the 'fathers' of the Ukrainian National *Rada* (Council) and the Skoropadski movement."

It was for this reason that the upper echelons of the bourgeois nationalist emigration were determined to change their masks. As for the Banderites, they hurriedly substituted the name of their Banderite OUN for the "Foreign Branches of the OUN" (Ukr. abbr., ZCh OUN). On top of that, an "opposition" group appeared in the very midst of the Banderites, headed by Mykola Lebed—a hardened criminal, *Gestapo* agent

and one of the OUN's big shots (a.k.a. Chort, Yaropolk, Kapral, etc.) — and by his associates Ivan Hrinyokh and Lev Rebet. Trying to dissociate themselves from the bankrupt leaders of ZCh OUN and posing themselves as "champions of democracy," this opposition, according to the Banderite "historiographer," Petro Mirchuk, launched an attack against Bandera, whom they characterized as an utterly scandalized figure, and against Dmytro Dontsov, the OUN's "ideologue" who had been too frank in his sympathies for the Nazis. In the end, the oppositionists switched sides and joined the so-called Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (Ukr. abbr., ZP UHVR) which was spreading allegations that, unlike all others, it was conducting a "struggle in the native land for Ukrainian statehood." Lebed & Co. continued to expose Bandera's criminal acts — acts which were already clearly apparent — and now posed as "defenders of the homeland." Stephen Bandera responded by expelling Mykola Lebed, Ivan Hrinyokh, Vasyl Okhrimovych, Lev Rebet and Daria Rebet from ZCh OUN, threatening them with physical retribution.

The discord between Bandera and ZP UHVR "modernizers" appeared as if there had been "tactical" divergencies in regard to the understanding of the concept of democracy. The opposition took advantage of the openly hostile attitude of the OUNites toward democracy and the people. A then contemporary ZP UHVR document reads that, "Bandera considered the OUN unable to stand for democracy... It will be *only under the disguise* (emphasis mine — **L.T.**) of democratic principles that we (i.e., ZP UHVR—

L.T.) shall be able to win the people over to our side and not to distract them back to the old which the people have long rejected."

Ideological, programmatical, political or other differences, however, were not the reason for the next split in the nationalist camp. It was the struggle for the right to be the first and only representative of the "interests of the warring (sic)" Ukraine in the eyes of foreign — in the first place, U.S.— intelligence services. Similarly, the main reason for the first breakup in the nationalist midst was the squabble for the right to represent these same "interests" for the Nazis. In other words, what was happening was being orientated toward new masters and world reaction, both adhering to cold war tactics.

Here is what B. Pidhainy, Bandera's aide, wrote:

"ZCh OUN upholds cooperation with the British officials all of you know (i.e., British intelligence — **L.T.**)..., is provided assistance in studies, material and technical supplies, as well as in a form which only a strong country such as this one is capable of ensuring... In exchange for this, ZCh OUN must supply intelligence data... necessary in planning military operations against the USSR."

Having found themselves across the ocean, ZP UHVR leaders, in turn, took every step to initiate collaboration with the U.S. secret service. The Banderites, who were also seeking ways of getting in touch, turned out to be a serious obstacle. Bandera & Co. had to be removed from the political arena on the double.

A "large-scale" action was staged for this purpose, which will be described further on.

Although explaining the situation which had

then developed in the bourgeois nationalist community is not the topic of this booklet, some facts should be recalled from the period when Lebed was still a member of the OUN.

Bandera — and Stetsko even more so, for that matter — were greatly displeased by the fact that matters of foreign policy (read: contacts with foreign intelligences) fell under Mykola Lebed who could always back himself up with his credentials as "Secretary-General of ZP UHVR for Foreign Affairs" and act free of Bandera's control. As head of the Department for Foreign Contacts of the OUN, Lebed, it appeared, could still be ordered around by Bandera, but not as Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs of the UHVR. Stetsko, who was dreaming of taking over Lebed's position in the UHVR, was urging Bandera to play it on the sly. The two nationalist functionaries suggested to Lebed that he accept the post of ZCh OUN Chief of Operations — allegedly in order to softpedal the ongoing split in the organization. In reality, they were eager to withdraw Lebed from "foreign" (i.e., espionage) contacts so that Stetsko could take over.

Lebed, who at the beginning of the Bandera-UHVR conflict had acted as a peacemaker, was left no other choice but to at least pretend to accept the offer. He even promptly set about fulfilling his new duties as Chief of Operations. But when it came to surrendering his "foreign" contacts, Lebed, trying to cheat on both Bandera and Stetsko, decided to make use of the disagreement and have himself placed at the head of ZCh OUN.

The reciprocal schemings were too obvious to remain unnoticed by all those more or less "in".

The generally known result was the final break between Bandera and Lebed, as has been mentioned above.

It was in that brief period when Lebed, wishing to deceive Bandera, was discharging his functions as Chief of Operations that he began to realize his far-reaching plans. He ordered Osip Vaskovych, then head of the OUN's "Technical Department," to set up an illegal print shop, in strict secrecy from the rest of the organization, to counterfeit dollars. The print shop was located on Führichstrasse St. in Munich. Vaskovych obediently complied.

Why did Lebed need to involve the OUN with forging money at a time when they had found sources capable of sufficiently providing for the leadership?

The answer must be that he foresaw even then that he would need false cash at a crucial point to compromise Bandera in the eyes of U.S. intelligence.

Another act in the counterfeit dollars affair took place in 1948, when it had come to the final split between ZP UHVR and ZCh OUN. At that time, Bandera, who had failed to kick Lebed and Hrinyokh out of their seats as senior resident agents of the American secret service, was resorting to various means to pull the rug from under their feet.

Bandera saw that the only possible way of reaching U.S. intelligence lay in using his former "allies," onetime Nazi officers of the *Abwehr*. Most of them (with their staffs, departments and listed espionage personnel) are known to have been attached to the U.S. military intelligence service after the war.

Maria Ribchuk, then wife of ZCh OUN's judge,

was assigned by Bandera as his major go-between in bidding with U.S. intelligence. He entrusted her with acting on behalf of the Foreign Branches (ZCh) before Holin, chief resident agent of the American secret service and formerly an officer of the *Abwehr*. There would have been nothing out of the ordinary in this had it not been for the fact that Maria had been Holin's agent during the war, later his "eyes and ears" within ZCh OUN. She had joined the Foreign Branches on his instructions and had even married "Dr. Ribchuk" of Bandera's top echelon especially to acquire not only the title of *Frau Doktor,* but also to gain access to the most confidential secrets in Bandera's circles. The way things stood, she, as Holin's agent, informed him about Bandera and the leaders of the Foreign Branches and, as Bandera's representative, spoke for his interests before Holin and the U.S. military intelligence service.

For pieces of information received after the war from R. Shukhevych, head of the Banderite "underground" in the Ukraine (which had been at the disposal of Bandera and which even Lebed had not had the time to sell to American intelligence) the *Frau Doktor* would bring sums of dollars from Holin — putting aside ten per cent, as had been provided for in the "contract" with Bandera. Unfortunately, all these reports appeared outdated. The Americans had to be provided with new, "credible" information, all the more so because Holin had promised to pay Bandera fat sums for each candidate spy through the *Frau Doktor*. In a word, it had become clearly necessary to send contact agents to Shukhevych.

Despite his conflict with Bandera, Lebed was informed in detail about the preparation of

courier spies. At first, he even agreed to aid the undertaking financially. At the last moment, however, he changed his mind and advised Bandera to supply the contacts with counterfeit dollars.

Bandera promptly swallowed the bait. This was all Lebed needed. He hated the thought of Bandera's envoys being the first to reach the Ukraine because this would prove that Bandera had better contacts with the country. When the team of contact agents had set off in the direction of the frontier, Lebed and Hrinyokh quickly advised the Americans that the agents had been supplied with false dollars.

It was then that Lebed finally lived to witness a scandalous case involving Bandera and counterfeit dollars, the very dollars created by Lebed himself. At the same time, Lebed's tip-off had served to step up collaboration between ZP UHVR and American intelligence — exactly what the Foreign Representation had been striving to achieve.

It is a known fact that Mykola Lebed, Secretary-General of the UHVR for Foreign Affairs, established contacts with the U.S. secret service back in 1945, in Italy. In July of that same year, UHVR members Ivan Hrinyokh, Roman Ilnitsky and others were twice granted audiences by the then Commander of the U.S. Occupational Force in West Germany. They offered him their good services as spies.

The leaders of ZP UHVR did not come empty-handed to offer themselves as mercenaries to the Americans. They brought with them military, political and economic espionage data. They also handed over to the U.S. secret service other classified information which had been re-

ceived from the chiefs of the Ukrainian nationalist gangs which had at one time operated in the Western Ukraine. In the fall of 1946, American intelligence gave its blessings for ZP UHVR to carry out subversive missions against the Soviet Union.

Evidence of the fact that the "oppositionists" had enlisted in the U.S. intelligence service is to be found in Bandera's letters to his associates.

One such letter reads, "It was thus that the opposing ZP (Foreign Representation) became completely dependent on the Americans, financially and politically... The opposition tends to fall under the influence of alien, chimerical masters, relying on their good and bad favors, in order to come out as independent sovereigns."

Of course, Bandera was himself all for "relying" on the "good and bad favors" of American intelligence but, he wrote, "the Americans consider me and the members of the Foreign Branches to be opposed to democracy and far too uncompromising in politics. They take us for Nazis. In contrast, they regard the 'opposition' and its members as democratic and politically flexible. With the kind of reputation the Organization (i.e., ZCh OUN — **L.T.**) has, it must keep to the shady side and stay put there."

Hence, it was none other than the "democratic" part of the UHVR which managed to elbow its way through to the purse of the U.S. secret service, submitting its reports as "reliable" information allegedly coming from a "large underground network" in the Ukraine which it claimed to control. At first, the Americans had no idea that the ZP UHVR chiefs were feeding them false data about a non-exis-

ting "armed nationalist underground" from which they were presumably obtaining "credible" information. ZCh OUN, according to the UHVR men, had no support from the "widespread secret network."

"I don't believe very much that Lebed, Hrinyokh and Lopatinsky knew nothing of what every rank-and-file Ukrainian knew back in the country — namely that there was no 'resistance movement' in the Ukraine," wrote Yuri Stefyuk, former U.S. secret agent of the UHVR who had been arrested in the Ukraine. In his book *From the Net of Treason and Espionage* he continued, "They knew it well and were consciously deceiving not only us members of the Organization but also their superiors in U.S. intelligence. All these lies, it appears, were needed by the nationalist leaders only to reap some fruit from the Americans."

As for U.S. intelligence, its representatives suggested that Lebed & Co. procure special cadres to be sent to the Ukraine to contact the "broad underground system." This suggestion gladdened ZP UHVR leaders. A clever plan flashed through their heads. They decided to use the team of contact agents to strengthen their positions with both the OUNites abroad and the Americans. To be precise, they intended to fabricate information about the presence, in the Ukraine, of a "mass resistance movement" and, on its behalf, to issue ZP UHVR with a "mandate" whereby it would represent abroad the mythical "warring Ukraine."

At the same time, one of ZCh OUN higher-ups, Myron Matviyejko, received instructions from Bandera which almost tallied with the intentions of the UHVR. "Bandera and Stetsko," he was

to write later, "being well aware that there was no underground activity in the Ukraine, decided to send me to the Ukraine where I was to supply ZCh OUN with information about the allegedly existing underground network and leading OUNite executive people in the Western Ukrainian lands. This, in the opinion of Bandera and Stetsko, would give them the opportunity of supplying such 'valuable data' to foreign intelligence services and building a fortune on such transactions."

Following the consultations between ZP UHVR and the U.S. secret service concerning who was to be assigned the role of a courier for the "mandate," the lot fell to Vasyl Okhrimovych (aliases: O. Dalekiy, Chuzhiy, Dalnij). An active participant in the "opposition" against Bandera and an instructor at the Nazi spy school in Cracow (1940) and in Lviv (1942), Okhrimovych ranked in ZP UHVR as Chairman of the Council of Operative Executives (Ukr., *Rada Referentiv*) and as head of the Political Information Service. In a word, he was a man on whom UHVR's chiefs felt they could rely.

Early in June of 1950, a new cadet under the alias of Hruzin (in reality — Okhrimovych) was enrolled in the U.S.-run spy school in the neighborhood of Kaufbeuren (West Germany). One of the instructors, an American whose code name sounded something like "Eight" or "Age," made him take a pledge in writing, confirming his readiness to cooperate with U.S. intelligence and fulfill espionage missions in the Ukraine. Okhrimovych's appearance at the spy school coincided with a noticeable increase in the subversive activities of world reaction against the

Soviet Union and the socialist community. Beginning in June of 1950, Okhrimovych was transferred to the Underground Section. Under the assumed identity of Harold Ewald, a civilian employee of an American military unit, he moved to a special secret apartment in the village of Oberbeuren near Kaufbeuren together with OUNites under the aliases of Mac, Ruban and Orikh. These three were undergoing spy training as radio operators to be subsequently included in groups of saboteurs.

U.S. intelligence officers under the code names of John, Dave and Steve taught the UHVR "Independents" how to operate transceivers, handle different weapons, plant explosive charges and take pictures of classified documents and military objectives. They also advised them on how to gather intelligence data in the Soviet Union and which information would interest them most. The cadets practiced parachuting over an airfield near Kaufbeuren.

Below is an excerpt from Yuri Stefyuk's book *Toward a Bright Road* which offers interesting details from that period.

"For the whole term of study we were placed under the guidance of one Yurko Lopatinsky and the Rev. Ivan Hrinyokh, Vice-President of the UHVR. We used to address him as 'Father Doctor.' He often visited us and took an interest in our progress. Another person to visit us was the so-called Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs of the UHVR, Mykola Lebed (a.k.a. Yaropolk). He was unable to keep us under constant control because he lived in the States, so he assigned a representative of his, one Zarevych (alias: Slavko). The latter not only helped the Americans organize the schooling process, but

was also just another spy of Lebed in our midst. He was especially vigilant, lest any of us should refuse to be sent to the Ukraine on espionage assignments."

Stefyuk further writes that Lebed and Hrinyokh set before the recruits the main task of, "...establishing radio contacts between ZP UHVR and the underground which was presumed to be still active in the Carpathians and then, with the help of this underground, to supply ZP UHVR with reconnaissance data from the territory of Soviet Ukraine. Major emphasis was to be placed on finding out in detail and transmitting the whereabouts of civil and military airfields, their security patterns, dimensions, the quantity and type of aircraft, their serial numbers, the size of runways, and the specific characteristics of all the auxiliary structures. Another thing which had to be reconnoitered was radar networks and other A.A. defense facilities in the Carpathians. I was to convey abroad information about the deployment of military units on the territory of Stanislav and Chernivtsi regions, their strength and armaments, to find and report abroad relevant localities in the Carpathians which the Americans would be able to use in case of need or in the event of warfare to drop airborne contingents, arms or other supplies required by the nationalist elements who, in their view, would come in handy, should the international situation reach hazardous complexity.

"Noteworthy is yet another fact. While claiming there was an armed underground network in the Ukraine, Lebed personally warned us that, should Orest and I fail to get in touch with the underground organization there, we would have to set up an organizational network right then

and there and employ it for procuring intelligence data in the first place."

Stefyuk's fellow cadets at the spy school, members of the OUN, abided by the organization's dscipline. Lopatinsky and Hrinyokh had told them that it was necessary to be trained by Americans who would then help them form groups of saboteurs and give them a plane to drop them over the Ukraine.

One U.S. agent under the alias of Semenko frankly admitted in a conversation with his colleagues from the OUN that, "...I made a fatal mistake when I agreed to enroll in this school. Had Kalyna (the alias of Lopatinsky — **L.T.**) let me think things over, I would have never accepted this kind of training. I'm quite sure there is no underground activity in the Ukraine whatsoever, let alone any efforts along these lines. All this is bluff. Doktor and Kalyna had simply been hired by the Americans, so they will never feel sorry about placing people in jeopardy by sending them to the Ukraine."

"I don't know whether Hrinyokh ever believed in the existence of that underground back in the country," Stefyuk wrote in his book, "but later, just as we were to be sent off to the Ukraine, he demanded from us, in the strongest possible terms, that, whether we get in touch with that underground or not, we forward radio messages to the U.S. Center only on behalf of that underground, and not on our own, because otherwise, we were told, our communications would be of no importance.

"On top of all that, as we were about to board the plane to be flown to the Ukraine, Hrinyokh supplied us with a typewritten letter of greetings to the U.S. President on the occasion of his

reelection. I was to transmit this particular message to his headquarters on behalf of the leadership of the OUN in the Ukraine as soon as he had been reelected and to do so even if I were to fail to contact the alleged underground system there. The salutatory broadcast was to sign off after the following identification, 'On behalf of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Ukrainian Lands, Petro Poltava (a member of the OUN's leadership).' To put it straight, I was supposed to transmit a false message which Hrinyokh would then be free to use as an official document which had been received from the Ukraine. In reality, however, this document had been written by Hrinyokh himself. I was expected to broadcast it without having ever set my eyes on that functionary Poltava, on whose behalf I was obliged to radio the letter.

"As a matter of fact, Hrinyokh was trying at all costs to persuade the Americans that there were active exchanges between ZP UHVR and the 'underground network' in the Ukraine.

"All the big talk Hrinyokh gave us made it apparent that he had sold himself to the Americans, was dependent on them, and had also sold us to the U.S. secret service."

As for Hruzin (a.k.a. Okhrimovych), he was immersed in learning the tricks of the espionage trade as well. Together with Mac and Ruban, he would leave their safe apartment and head to an old airfield situated on the outskirts of Kaufbeuren. There, in a specially equipped hangar, he would be taught another lesson in parachuting, pistolry and riflery under the guidance of a U.S. instructor whose code name sounded like Farbet. Another secret agent, Vuyko (Ukr. for

'uncle'), taught Okhrimovych cryptography and secret photography. Two others, known to him as Herbert and Jim, helped him master the coding of radio messages.

On the eve of his departure for the Ukraine, having completed the spy courses taught by various experts in espionage (he was to board a plane on a U.S. military airfield in Wiesbaden), Okhrimovych received 20,000 roubles and several wads of Austrian schillings, Czech korunas and West German deutsche marks from Blake. In addition, Hrinyokh gave him 4,000 roubles. Each member of the spy team was handed a U.S. submachine gun, a 14-round Belgian pistol, two hand grenades and a Swiss watch.

In 1954, V. Okhrimovych stated, "It was then, in the presence of Blake, that Hrinyokh praised collaboration between ZP UHVR and the Americans, referring to the latter's 'great assistance' and asked that his opinion be conveyed to the 'country' (i.e., the Ukraine), striving to arrange things so that the OUN back in the native land would entirely agree to continue this cooperation." He further noted that "Blake suggested in an authoritative tone that I busy myself with gathering information of interest to U.S. intelligence and that I try sending it off abroad... He was most interested in data pertaining to the Ukrainian frontiers. He wanted this information in every possible detail — for example, what this or that borderline looked like, how its security was organized, etc. Another thing he required was information about important fortified objectives, airfields and military bases... Passports, military identification cards and other Soviet documents were to be passed across the border at the first opportunity because they

were of great value for the American secret service."

"American intelligence," said V. Okhrimovych, "very much wished the OUN (i.e., separate, scattered groups of nationalist bandits in the Ukraine — **L.T.**) to go along with the cooperation idea and set up a reconnaissance network to gather espionage information for the United States. To this end, Blake ordered me by all means to talk the underground OUN functionaries into joining efforts with the U.S. and to assure them of all possible reciprocation in return."

After Okhrimovych had established contact with the local OUN, Blake asserted, the nationalists could count on full support from U.S. military intelligence, including supplies of weapons, munitions, medications and radios.

Ivan Hrinyokh, his chief at ZP UHVR, gave him a special assignment which had been agreed upon between M. Lebed and L. Rebet. He was to forward to the address of ZP UHVR in Munich the fabricated text of a "mandate" direct from the Ukraine. The document had been drawn up on behalf of the leadership of the OUN, signed by Vasyl Kuk, *providnyk v kraju* (lit., 'local leader' — OUN senior supervising agent in the Ukraine — **Transl.**) And so, Okhrimovych was given the "mandate" right then and there.

At this point, the reader should be reminded of who Vasyl Kuk is. His aliases list Lemish, Colonel Koval, Yurko, Medvid. He used to be a "local leader" of the OUN, Commander-in-Chief of the UPA (Ukr. abbr., Ukrainian Insurgent Army), and Secretary-General of the UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council). At present, he is, in a way, a known figure amongst the emigrants for his *Open Letter* to

Yaroslav Stetsko, Mykola Lebed, Stepan Lenkawsky, Daria Rebet, Ivan Hrinyokh and the rest of the Ukrainians living abroad. In his *Letter,* Vasyl Kuk exposes the anti-Soviet activity of foreign OUNite organizations and calls on the Ukrainian emigrants "not to associate yourselves with any efforts directed against your people, not to let yourselves be further deceived and used in someone else's interests, interests which are alien to you and your nation."

A few words about the non-existent "widespread underground" in the Ukraine which M. Lebed tried so cleverly to trade. There were, indeed, separate bourgeois nationalist gangs operating in the western regions of the country during the first few years following the war. They were composed of former *kulaks,* Ukrainian Nazi policemen, *Burgomeisters,* Nazi-hired interpreters, and soldiers and officers of the Nazi *Sonderkommandos,* etc. All this nationalist "underground" was wiped out before long with the help of the local population. Those among them who had been stupefied by hostile propaganda or bullied by nationalist terror were given the opportunity of reconsidering their past actions and, eventually, found themselves jobs as honest citizens of their homeland.

Still, the fact remains that the foreign chieftains of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism were simply unable to bring themselves to recognize their political bankruptcy. For Lebed, Hrinyokh, Rebet and that gang, the very likelihood of the existence of underground resistance in the Ukraine was quite important, in that it would bestow their prefabricated "mandate" with the significance of a document which no-one would find himself able enough to refute. Hrinyokh sup-

plied Okhrimovych with correspondence for the "underground," including letters for Kuk from Lebed and other ZP UHVR functionaries, and even several UPA "decorations" to be awarded to the most "distinguished fighters for freedom and democracy." In addition, he gave Okhrimovych addresses so he could directly contact ZP UHVR.

It was also agreed upon that, if need be, U.S. intelligence would instruct Okhrimovych via *The Voice of America* in the form of ciphered literary broadcasts.

By order of Hrinyokh, Okhrimovych was to find a person who would be "mentally developed, literate and cultured," to be used in the opposition struggle against Bandera and who could be eventually sent off, across the ocean, for a training course at a U.S.-run spy school.

On May 19, 1951, Vasyl Okhrimovych and OUN members under the code names of Mac, Ruban and Osyp (Ukr. for Joseph) boarded a USAF plane in Wiesbaden (West Germany) and were dropped over Soviet territory. Later, V. Kuk wrote in his *Open Letter* about the "special mission" of U.S. emissary V. Okhrimovych, sent to the "underground":

"In order to make themselves look more important in the eyes of imperialist circles and rank-and-file emigrants, certain nationalist parties abroad still refer to their ties with the 'underground' in the Ukraine. In their periodicals, the nationalists use slander to inform the emigrants about the activity of 'illegal organizations' in the Ukraine, etc. All this is nothing more than sheer and predetermined falsehood.

"I, as a former responsible official of the OUN in the Ukraine, the CIC of the UPA, and the

Secretary-General of the UHVR, who has constantly stayed in the native land, am in a position to be best informed whether there is an underground network in the Ukraine or not. I, therefore, consider it my duty to state in front of the entire Ukrainian emigration abroad that this underground ceased to exist many years ago and that today — and I would like to stress this with perfect confidence — there are no reasons whatsoever for it to reappear."

Okhrimovych and his counterparts were to learn the validity of the above conclusion from their own experience, as they had to conceal their presence from the local inhabitants by hiding in the thick Carpathian forest.

Yuri Stefyuk, who was sent to the Ukraine shortly after Okhrimovych, also testifies to this. "What kind of 'resistance movement' could there possibly exist when, having just set about packing my parachute after being dropped into the Ukraine, I found myself apprehended by a group of ordinary peasants?... Had there existed some underground there at the time or, at least, some resistante movement which the people had really supported, those ordinary shepherds would have behaved differently toward me, rather than disarming me and tying me up. No matter how hard we attempted to convince those people that we would help set them free and that we had come to contact the 'underground,' they only laughed at our naivety and lack of knowledge of the actual situation in the Ukraine."

The captured spies, it was decided, had to be kept in custody for a little while, in order to find out from them in greater detail what their concrete missions were and who their particular contacts were.

While wandering through the forests, Okhrimovych ran into the bandit chief, Roman Kravchuk, who promptly agreed to cooperate with U.S. intelligence. Striving to get the latter interested in his "potentialities" in the western regions of the Ukraine, Kravchuk supplied Okhrimovych with espionage information to be sent abroad and advised him to think over the possibilities of dispatching a special envoy to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. The radio message to the American spy center, nevertheless, boiled down to an attempt to put a good face on a foul deed. It read:

"GRATEFUL FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE (i.e., for the sending of a transceiver — **L.T.**) STOP HAVE FAMILIARIZED OURSELVES WITH U.S. GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE RE INDEPENDENT UKRAINE STOP ARE GLAD STOP HOPEFULLY U.S. ADMINISTRATION WILL PROVIDE ALL-OUT POLITICAL ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION STRUGGLE EFFORTS IN KEEPING WITH NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION PRINCIPLES... ALSO TO UHVR AS THE RULING BODY OF THE CAMPAIGN END"

Concealed behind the UHVR's "big policy" was the bankruptcy of the entirety of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism! In one of his talks with Okhrimovych, R. Kravchuk openly admitted that there were no prospects of any impetus for subversive-espionage work and that "nothing will come out of this project because the OUN underground has been eliminated there and its separate participants left with no means of contact amongst themselves." This particular exchange of ideas was, of course, unknown to the "Esteemed American Side." The latter, in reply

to the aforementioned radio message, cheerfully broadcast:

"UNITED STATES COMPREHENDS UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE PLAYS IMPORTANT ROLE IN ANTIBOLSHEVIK EFFORTS END"

With the two "esteemed" spy partners amusing themselves with these radio exchanges, V. Okhrimovych wasted no time in getting down to his most important assignment. He busied himself with helping promote the splitting process within the OUN, supporting Lebed & Co. by means of the fabricated "widespread underground" in the Ukraine. The following message, faked back in Munich, was sent via the U.S. Center:

"NUMBER SIXTY-TWO POINT SIXTY-THREE STOP ADDRESSED UHVR SECRETARY-GENERAL MYKOLA LEBED STOP THIS CERTIFIES MANDATE RE YOU AND ENTIRE ZP UHVR RE REPRESENTING UHVR AND WHOLE WORLD UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT STOP ZP UHVR OBJECTIVES LISTED AS FOLLOWS COLON ONE STOP REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF UHVR AND UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN UKRAINIAN TERRITORIES (i.e., what had been left of the nationalist gangs—**L.T.**) STOP TWO STOP CONDUCTING ABROAD OF POLITICAL DEMOCRATIC AND INFORMATION WORK IN LINE WITH UKRAINIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE (i.e., anti-Soviet activity—**L.T.**) STOP THREE STOP YOU ARE FREE TO MAKE DECISIONS RE USE OF ASSISTANCE (i.e., aid from foreign secret services — **L.T.**) COMMA FORMS COMMA EXTENT COMMA TRAINING LEVEL STOP FOUR STOP ZP UHVR MUST BE RE-

GARDED AS SUPREME BODY BY ALL UPA (Ukr., Ukrainian Insurgent Army — **Transl.**) AND UNDERGROUND MEMBERS ABROAD... STOP UPA MISSION HAS BEEN ATTACHED TO UHVR SPECIALLY TO HANDLE UPA MATTERS STOP SIGNED COLON M PERIOD LISOVIY COMMA ON BEHALF OF PRESIDIUM BOARD STOP V PERIOD KOVAL (i.e., V. Kuk — **L.T.**) COMMA UHVR GENERAL SECRETARIAT CHAIRMAN STOP THIS MANDATE IS TEMPORARY SINCE UHVR IN COUNTRY (i.e., in the Ukraine — **Tranls.**) INTENDS SENDING ABROAD COMPETENT REPRESENTATIVE TO REGULATE AND SETTLE ALL PRESSING MATTERS RE SITUATION IN COUNTRY STOP SIGNED COLON V PERIOD KOVAL END"

Following this, Okhrimovych forwarded to his UHVR counterparts another long-awaited document:

"NUMBER SIXTY-FOUR POINT SIXTY-FIVE POINT SIXTY-SIX STOP ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS LEADERSHIP IN UKRAINIAN LANDS CONFIRMS THAT BIJLIKHO (alias of Stephen Bandera — **L.T.**) HAS TURNED ASIDE FROM INSTRUCTIONS OF THIRD EXTRAORDINARY GREAT OUN ASSEMBLY COMMA HE IS NEITHER FORMALLY NOR ACTUALLY LEADER OF OUN STOP OUN LEADERS CONSIDER SO FAR TACTICALLY UNWARRANTED HIS COMPLETE REMOVAL FROM PARTICIPATION IN OUN STOP OUN LEADERS IN UKRAINIAN LANDS AUTHORIZE LEV REBET COMMA MATLA AND BANDERA TO TEMPORARILY SUPERVISE FOREIGN BRANCHES AND REORGANIZE

FOREIGN BRANCHES ACCORDING TO PROPOSITIONS OF OUN LEADERSHIP IN UKRAINE STOP THIS SUGGESTION SHALL BE CONVEYED TO BANDERA STOP SIGNED COLON YU PERIOD LEMISH (i.e., V. Kuk — L.T.) COMMA HEAD OF OUN LEADERSHIP IN UKRAINE END"

The text of this telegram was carried February 28, 1954, by the *Ukrainskyj Samostijnyk* newspaper. The destinies of Okhrimovych and his like had been determined in advance. Before long, the spy team was apprehended and brought before a Soviet court of law.

It was then that the time had come for Lebed & Co. to use their false "mandate." With the help of the "assignment from the Motherland," the upper echelon of ZP UHVR managed to considerably strengthen their positions inside the OUN. As for Bandera, bound by the "decision from the country," he was forced to enter the *triumvirate* of the Board of Authorized Representatives — i.e., Rebet, Matla and Bandera — having announced the reelection of the leaders of the Foreign Branches (ZCh) of the OUN, and the formal dismissal of the OUN.

It was precisely to accomplish this that the agreement between the "opposition" and Bandera was signed December 28, 1953, under the title *The Plan and Certain Amendments in Relation to the Activity of the Provisional Administration of the Leaders of ZCh OUN as a Basis of Work for the Board of Representatives.* Under this agreement, Bandera was, in fact, removed from the top of ZCh OUN.

The false "mandate" had, therefore, worked in favor of ZP UHVR chiefs, leading to yet another split in the OUNite camp.

In the end, it dawned on Bandera and his henchmen that the "Mandate from the Motherland" was phony. They demanded from UHVR the original document. Naturally, this couldn't be done, because the original simply didn't exist. "The suspicion involuntarily arises," wrote the Toronto-based newspaper *Nasha Derzhava,* "that, hiding behind the local (i.e., that in the Ukraine — **Transl.**) government of the OUN (meaning V. Kuk — **L.T.**) were Bolsheviks, or that they had seized it and forced it to sign the document or had even feigned the signature of the Head of the OUN in the country and sent the document abroad in order to split the nationalist camp."

We shall not comment on this statement, because the reader must be well aware by now of who was "hiding" behind the "local government of the OUN."

The further developments in the OUN took the following course. In February of 1954, Bandera declared his withdrawal from the *triumvirate* on the grounds that illegal acts had been committed by Lebed & Co. A group of ZP UHVR supporters detached themselves from the OUN. To counterbalance the Banderites, they set up a new OUNite organization, known as the *Dvijkari* — "The Twos," or the "OUN (Z)" [Ukr. abbr.— Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Abroad)]. The name *Dvijkari* comes from the two leaders from the onetime *triumvirate* — Rebet and Matla — who became heads of the new organization.

Hence, by using the false mandate to pose as the "only representatives" of the Ukrainian nation, and to discredit Bandera, ZP UHVR and

its appendix, OUN (Z), won themselves greater access to the purse of U.S. intelligence.

Flashing the notorious "mandate" left and right, ZP UHVR functionaries attempted to present their petty organization, which was financed by the American secret service, as a "true Ukrainian government." This ploy made it possible to lead their employers by the nose with some non-existent "opportunities" of undermining Soviet Ukraine from within."

Still, the actual point in question had nothing to do with any "government" at all.

In 1969, the magazine *Samostijna Ukraina* wrote, "Behind the smoke screen of boisterous 'revolutionary propaganda', ZP UHVR plays far from an honorable role, in strict secrecy from the Ukrainian community... this is no policy at all but, plainly, paid-for obedience to the responsible officials who represent an alien policy."

How can one disbelieve, for example, the assertion of such an authoritative publication as the U.S. military magazine *Stars and Stripes* which, in July of 1953, wrote that the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) was an organization sustained by American funds. To this end, it seems worth recollecting the letters of Zenon Pelensky, one of the founding members of ZP UHVR and OUN (Z), to Danylo Chaikovsky, formerly a friend of his, editor of the Banderite newspaper *Shlyakh Peremohi.* Chaikovsky published these letters during 1954. Among other things, they contain rather eloquent remarks. Thus, according to Zenon Pelensky, UHVR, "by its collaboration with U.S. intelligence, has encouraged the Americans to feel free in manipulating the Ukrainian cause amidst the garbage heap of secret service chores." Fur-

ther on, "...personally, I have no doubts that... this ZP UHVR accepts dirty money..." True, these former remarks by Z. Pelensky do not seem to prevent him from now being what he himself terms an "adherent" of Lebed; neither do they interfere with his current work for this same "dirty money."

The fuss about ZP UHVR as a "government body" finally gave Lebed & Co. the long-awaited excuse to hope to raise their much-dampened prestige within the Ukrainian emigration.

Unfortunately, all the actions under "statehood" slogans failed. The testimony, in the Soviet press, of former "Head of the OUN in the country," Vasyl Kuk and those of UHVR emissaries like Stefyuk and Zhilaviy, who had realized their guilt before the Ukrainian people, left ZP UHVR no hope for any "state representation." It was not coincidental that the bourgeois nationalist newspaper *Samostijna Ukraina* wrote in 1952:

"More often than not, UHVR men convince the Ukrainian public that all of them are not in emigration but in the 'country,' and that they are speaking to us, allegedly, from the Ukraine. This is clearly something like conjuring up spirits or other forms of witchcraft... Without the least of doubt, reality speaks to us from the Bavarian Alps: the Rev. Ivan Hrinyokh is in Munich and Mykola Lebed is in Brooklyn."

True, there still remained the shaky possibility of cheating one's way into the "holy" crowd of "martyrs," those who had supposedly suffered for the notorious "all-Ukrainian cause."

Hrinyokh, Lebed & Co. made an attempt to put their experience to good use to achieve mastership over yet another bourgeois nationalist

organization, the so-called Ukrainian National *Rada* (Council). The latter, on a par with ZP UHVR, was laying claim to the role of a "genuine" yellow-blue * pseudogovernment. Beyond, this organization was struggling to don the mask of some "all-Ukrainian democracy" allegedly including a "socialist," "democratic" and other sectors.

It seems worth mentioning in this connection the article "What is the Purpose of OUN's Entrance into the Ukrainian National *Rada?*" by one I. Luchyshyn, carried by the *Vilna Ukraina* magazine (No. 61, 1969). In the author's opinion, OUN (Z) had joined the *Rada* as a kind of "Trojan horse," in order to destroy, by hook or by crook, this essentially pseudo-state organization from within. What would be left of it, they had intended to subject to the influence of Mykola Lebed, under the auspices of ZP UHVR. "Why should the OUN (Z) black marketers push their way into the Ukrainian National *Rada?*" asks Luchyshyn.

He answers his question himself, "Because their 'ethics' had almost placed them in complete isolation from the Ukrainian public. Besides, it would be likely to serve their own interests to convince their American employers that they could, indeed, exert some influence on the Ukrainian emigration." However, the attempts of Lebed & Co. to conquer the *Rada* ended in complete failure. The *Rada's* President, Mykola Levitsky, appeared to be as tough a character as the UHVR and the *Dvijkari.* (Back in the 1920s, he had been in the secret service of bourgeois Po-

* i.e., the colors of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist flag — **Tr.**

land and, later, of Nazi Germany. Still later, he had polished his agent's skill as a U.S. spy.) He promptly rid himself of his rivals by expelling the OUN (Z) and several other groups of "opposition" from the *Rada*. These groups, in turn, set up yet another political circus, known as the KUVPD (Ukr. abbr.— Congress of Free Ukrainian Political Thought). They pompously referred to the new setup as a "new ideological center" which, they claimed, would be shortly placed at the head of the "whole emigrational political movement."

Not so long ago, all these "parties" joined efforts to form what is currently known as the Ukrainian Democratic Movement. The new "association," of course, awaits recognition from nowhere else but the Ukraine.

It might as well be added that the story of the false mandate proved to have repeated itself in our days. In 1977, the Soviet press reported the arrest in Lviv of a British subject by the name of A. Klimchuk. He had arrived in the Soviet Union as a member of a tourist group. An emissary of ZCh OUN, he had committed hostile acts while on Soviet territory. Among the documents found in his possession and publicized during a news conference on January 3, was the "Appeal" addressed by the "underground Ukraine" to the Western governments and the world public whereby those governments and the public were urged to defend the national-state independence of the "oppressed peoples" of the USSR and their basic human rights and liberties. This "Appeal" had been fabricated in the West and Klimchuk had brought it along for the purpose of getting at least a few people to sign it. This mission is clearly defined in the instruc-

tions which were also found on this fake tourist.

The ignominious fiasco of the Banderite emissary in the Soviet Union was something to be well expected. As regards ZP UHVR and OUN (Z), they are obviously expecting to benefit from some falsehood similar to the affair described below. They are trying to contribute their efforts to the campaign of stepping up ideological subversion against the USSR. Currently, such endeavors are the major trend of their activity.

What is Behind "Good Internationalism"?

In 1950, Francois Nourissier, a progressive French novelist, published the book *L'homme humilié* (A Humiliated Man) about "refugees" and "displaced persons" from Eastern Europe. The author writes, "The threat of... the influx of 'neo-refugees' is quite obvious; they serve to kindle the flames of hazardous unrest in people's minds grouping together according to their political distinctions, and are a force in the reserve of the counterrevolution."

Nourissier's words about the "force in the reserve of the counterrevolution" may well be addressed to the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists employed by imperialist reaction in promoting subversive ideological campaigns against the Soviet Union. Reactionary circles continue to hold in reserve their yellow-blue lackeys, hoping that they will come in handy sooner or later — at least as mercenaries in psychological warfare, and as obedient executors of the dirtiest provo-

cations against peace, social progress and Socialist Unity.

Banderite emissary Yaroslav Dobosh admitted after his arrest in the USSR that, "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism today more and more often turns out not as an ideology but as a mere cover for the anti-Soviet efforts of forces which are alien and hostile to the people." (*Radyanska Ukraina,* June 3, 1972)

Bourgeois nationalist groupings act as champions of the cold war. These outspoken enemies of peace and supporters of military conflicts and militant anticommunism have formulated their "founding" credo, "Only Arms and Swords!", "Iron and Blood Shall Judge Us!" Such slogans completely reveal Banderite extremism.

It wasn't coincidental that the OUN (Z) magazine *Ukrainskyj Samostijnyk* conceded that the Banderites "have led themselves toward right extremism," and that they were in an alliance with the "exponents of U.S. right extremist groups." Further on, "...the money of certain American industrial corporations is truly the motor putting in motion all this machinery."

ZP UHVR doesn't step aside from subversive anticommunist activity, either. But this "center" resorts to tactical maneuvers of ideological subversion against Soviet Ukraine which are inherent in what is known as "creeping" or "intellectual" anticommunism.

While adjusting themselves to the global imperialist "bridge-laying" policy, the UHVR and the *Dvijkari* people sometimes even go as far as to admonish the nationalist extremists for their conservatism, to "condemn" their open alliance with the neo-Nazis and criticize them for "inep-

titude" in choosing the "most effective" means of anti-Soviet struggle.

In keeping with the demands of their American masters, who are well aware of the fatality of any attempt to use force to change the world situation in favor of imperialism, UHVR currently relies upon so-called "peaceful" methods, struggling to pose as "defenders" of the Ukrainian people, or even as "adherents of internationalism."

Myroslav Prokop, one of the leaders of ZP UHVR and OUN (Z), who had for thirty years been in close association with U.S. intelligence, published the articles "For True Internationalism in the Relationships of Peoples" (1973) and "The National and the International in Our Time" (1975) in the magazine *Suchasnist.*

What was behind these publications and why did Prokop, all of a sudden, "champion" "translating into life" internationalism?

"The apologists of bourgeois systems," noted Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "are prepared to don any pseudo-socialist clothes in order to try to impair — or 'soften,' as they say — socialism under the cover of 'national phrases' and weaken brotherly ties amongst the socialist countries."

One should analyze Prokop's articles from precisely this point of view. By expressing, so to say, the "credo" of ZP UHVR-OUN (Z), he shed light on the tactical peculiarities of modern anti-Soviet diversions on the part of bourgeois nationalist groupings.

How does Prokop interpret the notions of the "national" and the "international"? The "national" he groundlessly associates with "sound na-

tionalism," and the "international," with "good internationalism."

The author juggles the word "internationalism" because he wants to back up the cosmopolitanism of the imperialist bourgeoisie, under whose guardianship world reaction endeavors to deny peoples their national sovereignty. What is more, the reactionary forces intend to swallow up separate countries and shape them into something like the "United International States of Europe," the "United Countries of the World" and the like. After all, both cosmopolitanism ("good internationalism") and chauvinism ("sound nationalism") are two sides of the imperialist policy of national oppression.

Prokop's terminology is nothing more than direct borrowing from the vocabulary of anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda. In other words, all his concepts are "imported" from someone else's sources. There is no coincidence in his reference to the U.S. sociologist, Emerson, who, despite historical facts, claims that the basis of all conflicts is to be found inherent in the very nature of the nation in question, in the very nature of man, and this is why conflicts between nations and all examples of national animosity are regarded by Emerson as being supposedly everlasting and unavoidable. As for the term "good internationalism," Prokop found it in anticommunist sources, specifically in the writings of British sociologist Barbara Word.

From what Prokop writes, the "unity" of the national and the international is the unity between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

By juggling the terms "sound nationalism" and "good internationalism," the ideological saboteurs desperately try to instill nationalist per-

suasions in the minds of the peoples of the socialist countries, to belittle the idea of proletarian internationalism and undermine the world historic effects of socialism.

Although the existence of the Soviet people is acknowledged within ZP UHVR, the latter sticks to the positions of "good internationalism," attempting to portray this people as some weak conglomerate which "complicates" the promotion of national values.

Thus, in his article "On the So-Called Soviet People. The Genesis of this Notion and its Discussions" *(Suchasnist,* No. 2, 1976), Myroslav Prokop parrots well-known U.S. anticommunists when he once again upholds "good internationalism" as opposed to "internationalist communism" which, allegedly, gives birth to the mythical "administrative, spiritual and cultural unification" of the Soviet nations. In his words, this is the reason for some "crisis" of Marxism, in so far as the national question is concerned. In this part of the article, almost every word mingles with objectivistic remarks and smooth and vague recommendations for the "democratization" and "liberalization" of socialism on the basis of nothing else than reactionary nationalism. Note well: this article was carried by the magazine of ZP UHVR, an organization whose rulers are compromised to the utmost by their service in favor of such "democrats" as Hitler's National-Socialists and, later, U.S. secret services.

It is no mere chance that, in 1974, *Ukrainskyj Samostijnyk* instructed, "A personal contact, a book, a picture, some notes, word of mouth — all these are weapons in our hands (i. e., the

hands of the ideological saboteurs — **L.T.**), and we simply must use such weapons."

Unlike the extremist circles of the nationalist emigration, ZP UHVR dealers, while pursuing their anti-Soviet subversive objectives, do not forbid their sympathizers to meet with Soviet citizens, attend Soviet exhibits or concerts, buy records of Ukrainian songs, etc. This is precisely the reason for the emergence of slogans in the midst of ZP UHVR upholding a "dialogue" with the communists, geared to "softening" Marxist ideology and to bring about ideological "erosion" of the socialist countries.

Advertising their "knowledge" of the Ukraine, the yellow-blue propagators of the "bridge-laying" policy have in mind means and methods whereby the greatest degree of harm can be done to the interests of the Soviet people. The task, therefore, is to prepare such "studies" which, in their own words, would encompass "the economic..., the social structure, and the material and legal status of citizens, also a whole complex of questions pertaining to the system of life of the people and the state formation of the enemy (sic)." Behind all the talk of the bourgeois nationalist pseudoscholars about "studies" of the Soviet Union "by means of science," specifically by "economic studies," is their aspiration to most efficiently carry out the most malicious assignments of the enemies of peace and progress. "In our time," declare these *Independents,* "we must switch to detailed and consistent studies of the walks of life under the Soviets, without which it is impossible to build the doctrine of psychological warfare. Therefore,... we make use of tnese studies while, simultaneously, helping all

those in the West who are concerned with questions of psychological warfare."

Vladimir Lenin once pointed out, "...the social status of professors in bourgeois society is such that only those are allowed to hold such posts who... agree to utter the most fatuous nonsense, the most unscrupulous drivel and twaddle against the socialists. The bourgeoisie will forgive the professors all this as long as they go on 'abolishing' socialism."

In the opinion of these spies in professors' gowns, it is their mission to "warn" the West of the "threat of communism," to "inform" it about what the "free world" (i.e., imperialism — **L.T.**) should "expect from Moscow in the near future." The true role of the bourgeois nationalists posing as "mouthpieces" of some "mysterious Ukrainian nature" is even more frankly admitted by the newspaper *Ukrainske Zhittya* (October 1970): "...the governments of America, Great Britain, France and, later, West Germany approached the Ukrainian cause proceeding from the interests of their intelligence services, in order to use it for subversive-espionage work against the USSR."

At present, imperialist secret services are the direct patrons of the bourgeois nationalist community. They not only finance it, in particular ZP UHVR, but also supply it with anti-Soviet information. In 1970, the yellow-blue press noted that this information is obtained "for the most part with the help of non-Ukrainian functionaries." By publishing such anti-Soviet "Ukrainian" articles, the pseudo-*Independents* legitimize slanderous writings provided by imperialist intelligence sources, thus emerging as the first link in the network for spreading these in-

sinuations by means of the big bourgeois press.

Scribblers from UHVR toss to the Ukrainian emigration various "modern" ideas of reactionary ideologists whose names are well known in the West. For example, they willingly picked up the bourgeois "evolution theory." Thus, A. Kaminsky time and again returns to its postulates, trying to prove the possibility of "transformations" in Marxist ideology and, eventually, in the whole sociopolitical order of the socialist countries. He dreams of the appearance of the "technological bourgeoisie" in the USSR which can be "conditionally compared to the bourgeois class of capitalist society." This, presumably, will lead to a break between the "authorities upstairs" and the "lower strata of the people." So this is what Kaminsky understands by "democratization" and "liberalization." The method of "unorganized organizing" — that is, propagating bourgeois nationalist ideas in the Ukraine, disguised as a struggle for the Ukrainian language and culture — he offers as a means of combating the Soviet system. But the expectations of Kaminsky & Co. that Soviet society will at some time be "regenerated" are groundless. No-one shall ever be capable of undermining the internationalist integrity of the Soviet Union. Soviet man's feeling of pride in the Communist Party and the state, his elevated social activity, historical optimism, ardent patriotism and internationalism are a reliable guarantee of the nation's further progress along the road of communist construction.

The Enemy's Abortive Schemes

Over the past few years, the capitalist West has escalated subversive efforts against international detente, peace and security. Defenders of imperialism, various anti-Sovieteers, foreign bourgeois nationalist and Zionist centers have made their anticommunist propaganda campaigns a large-scale industry. They resort to increasingly subtle and treacherous techniques, mobilize thousands of specially trained "specialists in Sovietology" and stage a variety of actions directed against the Soviet Union. By way of ideological subversion, slanderous allegations and false information about the USSR's domestic and foreign politics, the enemies of peace and security are struggling to instill anti-Soviet moods in the foreign public and thus to prevent sympathies for the USSR from spreading.

In order to carry out ideological subversion against the Soviet Union, the imperialist reactionary forces use Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist organizations abroad, the leaders of which

are linked to secret services in imperialist countries.

ZP UHVR dealers study at length and analyze at depth data concerning Soviet Ukraine. The information under study includes periodicals, steno records of Soviet broadcasts, the accounts of tourists who visit the Ukraine, and so on. Conclusions made on this basis are transferred to imperialist intelligences. Subsequently, some of these pieces of information are shaped into fake "reliable" documents, to be dutifully carried by the UHVR publications. Whose interests does all this serve? The answer is easily found after one considers the fact that, for example, the *Suchasnist* and *Prologue* publishers, both great specialists in anti-Soviet lampoons, are fully provided for by the CIA.

Ukrainians abroad are so well aware of this fact that it is not kept secret even in yellow-blue circles. To this end, the magazine *Vilna Ukraina* wrote in 1964 that, "many well-paid people" work for *Prologue* and the Munich-based magazines of ZP UHVR, *Suchasnist* and *Ukrainskyj Samostijnyk*. "All this costs thousands of dollars in hard cash." And further on, "The Foreign Representation of the UHVR with its many establishments is an organization in emigration which does not render the Ukrainian community an account of the sources of its income, of the actual contributions of its members or sympathizers, or of their charities, or, in general, of the donations of its benefactors. Who are these benefactors? Why are they kept secret if they share the policy of the Representation?" In 1970, a nationalist "discussion" in New York reached the stage where it became an exchange of reciprocal disclosures which confirmed that *Prologue* and

Suchasnist are, indeed, financed by the CIA.

U.S. intelligence finances all the "Independent" actions of the UHVR people. One could add that, in financial terms, their contacts are maintained by *Dvijkari* such as Kerod, Pidhainy and Haliv. It is also known that new finances are forwarded by *Radio Liberty.* Even concrete sums are mentioned — from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars each quarter for "publishing needs." The American secret service paid the *Independents* ten thousand deutsche marks a month for putting out *Ukrainskyj Samostijnyk.*

The "irreconcilable" divergencies amongst bourgeois nationalist groups do not exclude the possibility of finding a common language whenever the struggle against the Soviet Union, social progress, peace and democracy throughout the world is concerned. OUN (Z) rulers emphasized in their special "credo," pompously entitled *Declaration,* the usefulness of "cooperation" and the idea of a "joint front" to "counteract" the historic advance of the forces of peace and socialism. In addition, the mutual "responsibility" of the bourgeois nationalists is proclaimed to the effect that the drawing up of a "Ukrainian political course" — i.e., a program for adjusting their subversive actions still better to the "latest" tactics of imperialism — must be effected.

Both the Banderites and UHVR take part in the boisterous campaign in the capitalist West against the alleged persecution in the USSR of citizens for their political convictions, the alleged absence of freedom of conscience, in support of some mythical forces of opposition there, etc.

To mislead public opinion, bourgeois propaganda brings up the names of Dubenko and Ostrovsky as "victims of persecution" in the

Soviet Union. In reality, both were active participants in Nazi "punitive" units. Similarly, the names of habitual criminals guilty of repeated violations of Soviet laws are heralded as being among the "champions of freedom."

In doing so, the nationalist press does not stop short of the dirtiest possible nonsense. *Novi Dni* magazine wrote in connection with one such "sensation"; "Imagine an editor squirming in his chair, racking his brain to think up schemes of whom he can battle against next and how. Should he publish an arrest warrant issued in the name of none other than the well-known Ukrainian novelist, Semen Sklyarenko? Why this particular author? Because his books prove bestsellers with the emigrants, especially the youth. And so the 'warrant' appears. But the trouble is that Sklyarenko turns out to have been dead for the past few years. The fact that other yellow-blue newspapers eagerly pick up the news doesn't help the situation, either. The result is... red faces all over the emigré community!"

Another time, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists likewise "arrested" Lviv's publicist Taras Myhal. In this particular case, they even approached Amnesty International with the request that it contact the state attorney for Ivano-Frankivsk and inquire from him about Myhal's charges and the reason for his incarceration... Half a month had hardly elapsed after this solicitation when yet another canard followed, to the effect that, "We are especially worried by the situation with Taras Myhal who has been sentenced to three years..."

Well, let's hear what Taras Myhal has to say himself. To begin with, he has never been arrested. In 1976, this writer was conferred with

the Yaroslav Halan Literary Prize for publications directed against the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. Taras Myhal wrote that "No matter what the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists touch with their dirty hands, or what they decide to undertake, they invariably find themselves compromised and self-whipped... This time, however, self-lashing befell also the friends of the nationalists from the West German Section and the whole of Amnesty International. Anyway, you've made the bed, so lie in it. The community of ideas and joint 'work' demand reciprocal sacrifices."

The hopes which the UHVR and the *Dvijkari* had placed in their manipulations with the false concept of a "mass opposition movement" in the Ukraine were also not justified. James Aldridge, a distinguished British author and public figure, aptly characterized the anticommunist slander about the "forces of opposition" allegedly "maturing" in the Soviet Union when he wrote that, now and then, there appear articles in the Western press, signed by some irritated intellectuals, who claim that there are all but "nationwide uprisings" in the Soviet Union. Even the enemies of that country cannot take this seriously. After all, this is nothing but just another maneuver of bourgeois propaganda, all of whose schemes are abortive in this sense.

Their hopeless situation forces the ill-wishers of the Soviet people to resort to even dirtier insinuations and louder provocations. ZP UHVR made a discovery — at least, that's what they think themselves. They came to regard politics as a "whore." Their "new" credo is what they themselves have thus proclaimed: "Moral principles are not binding in politics." Pursuant to

this concept, *Ukrainskyj Samostijnyk* and *Suchasnist* gave space to the writings of Zionists like Schiffrin, Kleiner and others who persistently advice their adherents not to wash their dirty linen in public in order, as they put it, to "bargain for an even better space in the sun." In other words, they offer recommendations with regard to the steps necessary to assert, and make others believe, that there is, indeed, some "Ukrainian resistance" under Soviet rule. In the opinion of the Zionists, this could serve to open the purse of the imperialists still wider, alongside reinforcing the positions of the yellow-blue counterrevolutionaries.

Blazing the trail to cooperation with the Zionists, *Ukrainskyj Samostijnyk* put forward, in May of 1970, the most pressing task of the day" — getting oneself acquainted with "not only the organizational forms of the Jewish community, but also with its achievements and successes" — of course, in the sphere of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. B. Kordyuk, one of the leaders of ZP UHVR and OUN (Z), instructs that Israel requires a lot of moral support. This is why, he continues, the nationalists must express solidarity with the Israeli aggressors and extremists. Hence the joint efforts of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and Zionists in dealing with the fabricated "Ukrainian" and "Jewish" questions allegedly existing in the USSR. These actions are aimed at kindling the flames of discord amongst nations, at complicating international relations, and at distracting world public attention from crimes perpetrated today by the forces of world reaction.

Several words about *Suchasnist,* currently the major organ of ZP UHVR. Its "literary" camou-

flage is created for special purposes, in keeping with the plans of imperialist secret services. One of these purposes is to spread anti-Soviet moods amongst the intelligentsia outside the USSR who are growingly aware of the unprecedented advancement of Ukrainian culture under socialism. Other trends include efforts to belittle the impact of the rapid progress of Soviet literature, the arts and culture as a whole, to smear the Ukrainian people's accomplishments as a member of the friendly family of Soviet nations. Such are the tasks the imperialist bosses have assigned the litterateurs of *Suchasnist.*

A noticeable figure amongst these "men of letters" is the magazine's Editor in Chief, Ivan Koshelivets. Formerly a Nazi collaborator, he earned his first pieces of silver as the editor of *Nizhynski Visti* (Nizhyn News) in Chernihiv Region during the temporary Nazi occupation. Now and then, the magazine carries articles by none other than Mykola Lebed.

While the Banderites wish a nuclear war upon the Ukrainian nation, one of the leaders of ZP UHVR, A. Kaminsky, sees in the "eventual destruction" of Soviet Ukrainian cities, workers and intellectuals "tremendous use" for some "all-Ukrainian cause." The reason for this approach, he asserts, is that the countryside will be kept intact. Its laborers are, presumably, more susceptible to the nationalist, anti-Soviet, influence.

So this is how the bourgeois nationalists are actually "concerned" about internationalism, such is the "intellectual" anticommunism of the "advocates" of the Ukrainian people in the present-day ZP UHVR — veteran experts in treason and falsehood. Their efforts are still directed

against their former Motherland which they have betrayed more than once, against the Ukrainian emigration, and against social progress, peaceful coexistence and detente.

To this end, the emigré progressive newspaper *Ukrainsky Robitnyk* wrote, "All this chaos of stray politics is a sign of certain social and organizational decline, the ideological and spiritual bankruptcy of the 'hundred of rescuers.' After all, this is exactly what was long to be expected... In the first place, the activity of the Ukrainian people, aloof from the crooked schemings of its unwelcome rescuers and their criminal actions, not paying the least attention to their squabble for the leftovers from their masters' table, being ruthlessly convinced of their complete good-for-nothingness and uselessness to the Ukraine, is strong and wise, is living, working and growing!"

It is, therefore, apparent that the appearance of OUN (Z), the very existence of ZP UHVR, the treacherous and slanderous deeds of their leaders, and the whole of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, which acted, and continues to act, under the mandate of treason, are false from beginning to end.

The Ukrainian News (U.S.A.) called the encroachments of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists a mixture of abstract and cheap phraseology. They have lost their bearing on reality, the newspaper points out, and all their illusions and hopes are placed in Russian great-power chauvinists like Solzhenitsyn and the big talk of the Zionists. They won't be able to save their degenerated bourgeois nationalist counterrevolution, just as the latter had not been helped by Skoropadski, Denikin, Pilsudski and Hitler.

In his report *Under the Banner of October — Toward New Accomplishments,* Volodymyr Shcherbitsky, First Secretary of the CC of the CP of the Ukraine, stressed, "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists prove especially active amongst the so-called 'critics' of the Soviet order. Previously Nazi collaborators, they have presently been granted sanctuaries by imperialist reaction in a number of countries. These traitors to the Ukrainian people, thrown onto the garbage heap of history, do the dirtiest jobs in the stinking kitchen of imperialist propaganda. It is understandable tat these endeavors of the imperialists and their adherents had no success, nor can they have any, because it is impossible to refute the undeniable fact that Soviet Ukraine is today a republic with a highly developed economy, science and culture. It is a republic of truly free and happy people who, in the brotherly family of Soviet nations, are building a society that embodies the loftiest ideals of humanity."

This is precisely what makes Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism utterly abortive and doomed to inevitable degradation and degeneration.

UKRAINA SOCIETY